# THOUGHTS ON THE EARLY AGES OF THE IRISH NATION AND HISTORY, AND ON THE ANCIENT ESTABLISHMENT OF THE MILESIAN FAMILIES IN THAT KINGDOM; WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO CERTAIN OF THE DESCENDANTS OF HEBER, THE ELDEST SON OF MILESIUS.

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THE following pages have been ſelected from the beſt-publiſhed Authorities on the ſubject of Ireland. Had it been conceived of conſequence, theſe Authorities might have been corroborated by Traditionary Evidence; but ſuſpicion always accompanies unauthenticated Family aſſertions. And though this Memoir is deſigned for private information, and not intended for the World, it has been thought beſt to confine the Narrative to ſuch points as can be eſtabliſhed upon the Authority of Hiſtorical data.

It were to be wiſhed, ſays Colonel *Vallancey* *, for the advantage of Ancient Hiſtory, that Writers well verſed in Iriſh Antiquities would collect all the accounts they could find of their reſpective Provincial Kings, beginning at the 3d Century; for I muſt own, I have but very little faith in many things that are delivered in the Hiſtories of times preceding this Epoch. The tranſactions attributed to the Ancient Iriſh in Ireland, were the tranſactions of their Anceſtors in America, Pontus, Bithynia; on the Euphrates, the Perſian Gulph, the Coaſt of the Red Sea, &c. The Antient Hiſtory of the Perſians, is the Hiſtory of the Southern Scythians, the Anceſtors of the Iriſh; for even in the time of *Propertius*, who lived under *Auguſtus Cæſar*, it was the received opinion, that the Iriſh were deſcended from the Scythians,

" Hibernique Getæ, pictoque Britannia curru;"

whence it appears, that the Iriſh were deſcended from the Getæ or Goths, a branch of the Scythians, the *common Origin* of all the Celtic Tribes who inhabited Europe. Uſher ſays, Scytæ in quarta ætate

* Collectanea de rebus Hibernicis.

mundi obtinuerint Hiberniam. *Huntingdon* ſays, Britones in tertia Mundi ætate in Britanniam, Scoti in quarta venerunt in Hiberniam. Hence it appears, that the *Scoti* were a Colony of the Scytæ, that they were the ſame people, and even preſerved and bore the ſame name with the alteration of one Letter only, the *o* for the *y*, owing to the difference of pronunciation. It is not improbable alſo, that the word *Celtæ* is a corruption of *Scytæ*. *Oroſius*, who lived in the fourth century, further proves, that Hibernia Scotorum gentibus colitur, "Ireland "is inhabited by the nation of the Scots *."

The Kingdom of Ireland itſelf, ſays an early Writer, was anciently called Scotia; Hibernia enim antiquitus Scotia dicta eſt. But, the celebrated *Buchanan*, in the ſecond book of his Hiſtory of Scotland, expreſsly declares, that "all the inhabitants of Ireland were originally "called Scots; and that the Scottiſh Annals give an account that the "*Scots* of Ireland, removed more than once into Scotland." And hence it is recorded, that in the year of Chriſt 320, *Fergus* eſtabliſhed himſelf from Ireland in Caledonia, with a body of Troops, and the Authority of a Sovereign; and then fixed the appellation of *Scots*, within the Iſland of Britain †. Thence the name was carried gradually, with their poſſeſſions, over the whole extent of the preſent Scotland: and Hibernians, Caledonians, Roman Britons, and Saxons, have all concurred to form the preſent reſpectable nation of Scots in Britain.

*Camden*, in his Britannia, ſays, Ireland was not without good ground called the ancient *Ogygia* by Plutarch; and the reaſon he gives is,—a profundiſſimâ enim Antiquitatis memoriâ Hiſtorias ſuas auſpicantur, adeo ut pro illis omnis omnium Gentium Antiquitas ſit novitas: For they begin their Hiſtories from the moſt profound memory of antiquity, ſo that the antiquity of all other Nations, in reſpect to them, is mere novelty ‡.

* Keating's Hiſtory of Ireland.
† Whitaker.
‡ Keating's Hiſtory of Ireland.

Ireland, indeed, properly ſo called, was probably the firſt of the Britiſh Iſles that got the name of Thule, as being the firſt the Carthaginians met with, ſteering their courſe Northward, when they departed from Cape Finiſterre, the Northern head-land of Spain *. And this ſeems to be the ſame Iſland ſaid by Ariſtotle to have been diſcovered by the Carthaginians. Extra Columnis Herculis aiunt in Mari a Carthaginenſibus Inſulam fertilem inventam, ut quæ tam ſylvarum copia, quam fluminibus Navigationi idoneis abundet, cum reliquis fructibus floreat vehementer, diſtans a continente plurimum dierum itinere, &c. The ſituation of Thule, however, has been much controverted; yet all agree, it was ſome place towards the North with reſpect to the *firſt Diſcoverers*, and many make it to be one of the Britiſh Iſles. Although the Romans never were in Ireland, yet *Statius*, with the liberty of a Poet, has certainly brought them there in this verſe, apparently for the honour of having them in Thule.

—Tu diſce patrem, quantuſque Nigrantem
Fluctibus occiduis, feſſoque Hyperione Thulem
Intrarit, mandata gerens.

" Learn from thy ſight, how glorious he was,
" When he did with the Senate's order paſs,
" O'er to dark Thule, in that Ocean Weſt,
" Where Phœbus gives his weary Horſes reſt."

Where could he conduct them *Weſtward* from Britain, but to Thule, that is, to Ireland? The word even itſelf bears the meaning out, for *Thual* or Thuathal in the Iriſh, and probably in the Punic Language, ſignified the North, as alſo the left hand. The North part of Ireland retains the word *Thual* to this day †.

In the life of Agricola by *Tacitus*, that writer tells us, the Ports of Ireland were more reſorted to by foreign Merchants than thoſe of Britain. The venerable *Bede*, who was born in 661, ſpeaks of Ireland as a rich and happy Kingdom, undiſturbed by thoſe bloody wars which harraſſed the reſt of the world during the barbarous ages.

* Collectanea de rebus Hibernicis. † Ibid.

Inſulæ

Inſulæ hujus ſitus eſt amœnus, ac diverſantium exterarum carens bello nationum :—as a land, to which the Nobility and Gentry of Britain reſorted for their education; as a nation which gratuitouſly afforded maintenance, *Books*, and Maſters to all ſtrangers, who came thither for the ſake of learning *. Erant ibidem (in Hiberniâ) multi Nobilium ſimul et mediocrum de gente Anglorum, qui, relictâ Inſulâ patriâ, vel divinæ lectionis, ſeu continentioris vitæ gratiâ eo ſeceſſerunt. Quos omnes Scoti libentiſſime ſuſcipientes victum iis quotidianum ſine precio, *libros* quoque ad legendum, et Magiſterium gratuitum præberi curabant.

*Inſula ſacra* was a very ancient name given to Ireland, as appears from *Avienus Feſtus*, who flouriſhed in the joint reigns of Gratian and Theodoſius about the year 379, and in his poem De Oris Maritimis has theſe words, Inſula Sacra, et ſic Inſulam dixere priſci, eamque late gens Hibernorum colit. By *priſci*, he muſt mean the Ancients before his time †. And with regard to the navigation of *Himilco*, he profeſſes he himſelf had read them in the *Punic Annals*.

Hæc olim Himilco Pœnus, Oceano ſuper
Spectaſſe ſemel et probaſſe retulit;
Hæc nos ab imis Punicorum annalibus,
Prolato longo tempore edidimus tibi.

The great *St. Bernard*, a writer of the twelfth Century, affirms that in the ſixth Century under St. Comghill, or Congell as he calls him, "The Monaſtery of Benchore in Ireland, was a moſt noble one, containing many thouſand Monks; and itſelf the chief of many Monaſteries. So fruitful," ſays he, "was it of Holy Men, and multiplying ſo greatly to the Lord, that *Lucanus* alone, a ſubject of this Houſe, founded no leſs than 100 Monaſteries. This I mention," continues he, "that the Reader may form an idea of the number of Religious in thoſe days in Ireland."

But, as we have above ſaid, the teſtimony of *Bede*, if there were

* O'Halloran's Hiſtory of Ireland.

† Colonel Vallancey, Collectanea de rebus Hibernicis.

no other reaſon, is unqueſtionable *, that about the middle of the ſeventh Century, in the days of the venerable Prelates *Finian* and *Colman*, many Nobles and others of the Anglo-Saxons retired from their own Country into Ireland, either for inſtruction, or for an opportunity of living in Monaſteries of ſtricter diſcipline: and that the Scots, as he ſtyles the Iriſh, maintained them, taught them, and furniſhed them with books without fee or reward. "A moſt honourable teſti-"mony," ſaith *Lord Lyttelton*, "not only to the learning, but like-"wiſe to the hoſpitality and bounty of the Iriſh."

"Doctor Leland," ſays Dr. Johnſon, "begins his Hiſtory of Ireland "too late; the ages which deſerve an exact enquiry, are thoſe times "(for ſuch times there were) when Ireland was the ſchool of the Weſt, "the quiet habitation of ſanctity and learning." The Hiſtory of thoſe ages indeed is doubted. But the Credit of every Hiſtorian, who treats of Events beyond his own knowledge, is not indiſcriminately to be called in queſtion. We have but two ways to decide on an Hiſtorian. If he derives his knowledge from hearſay, he is to be read with caution; but if he profeſſes to have learned it from the records of the Country the Hiſtory of which he gives, his accounts are generally to be admitted as authentic; and it has not been uſual to load him with the opprobrium of falſhood and fabrication, by *flatly denying* the *exiſtence* of any ſuch records in his time *. If a foreign writer ſhould differ from a native in the accounts he gives of the ſame matters, the error is commonly charged rather upon the ſtranger than upon the native. Theſe are the general rules for determining the Credit due to Hiſtorians and Annaliſts, whether ancient or modetn. Now the old writers of Ireland, and the *Pſalter of Caſhel* in particular, refer to the *more ancient records* of the Country, ſtill extant, as they aſſert in their times; and why they are not to be judged by the ſame law as other writers, it is not eaſy to diſcover.

In the Hiſtories as well as in the Traditions of the Britiſh Iſles, the laſt place we read of the Druids is unqueſtionably Ireland, where they

* Leland's Hiſtory of Ireland.

† Anonymous Exam. of Macpherſon's Diſſert.

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continued in full poſſeſſion of all their Ancient power till the year 432 after Chriſt, when *St. Patrick* undertook the converſion of the Iſland *. After the order of the Druids was extinct, and the National Religion altered, the Bards continued to flouriſh, not as a ſet of ſtrolling ſong-ſters, like the Greek Αοιδοι or Rhapſodiſts in Homer's time, but, as an order of men highly reſpected in the State and ſupported by a public eſtabliſhment. We find them, according to the teſtimonies of *Strabo* and *Diodorus*, before the age of Auguſtus Cæſar; and we find them remaining under the ſame name, and exerciſing the ſame functions as of old in Ireland, and in the North of Scotland, almoſt down to our own times †.

But St. Patrick himſelf, upon his arrival in Ireland in 420 or thereabouts, deemed a reviſion of the national *Records* abſolutely neceſſary. He even aſſiſted in the work. The Records thus purified were tranſcribed into the *Senachas More*, or great book of antiquity. Of this venerable volume many copies were taken, which, by the unanimous conſent of the Managers of the work, were intruſted to the care of the Biſhops, to be depoſited in their ſeveral Churches and Monaſteries. Moſt of theſe copies were deſtroyed, during the Ravages of the Danes and Engliſh; but ſtill ſeveral ineſtimable fragments of them, as the *Pſalter of Caſhel*, &c. are to be found in Public Libraries ‡.

The Records thus reviſed under the guidance of St. Patrick, we muſt ſuppoſe to have been ſuch as were relative to Laws, to Cuſtoms, and to Individual rights; for his influence and policy were ſuch, as at the ſame time to get above two hundred volumes of Druidical Theology and Philoſophy burnt §. The falſe piety, and miſtaken zeal, of thoſe who followed him, led them to ſtill greater devaſtation; and to fill up the meaſure of literary Ruin, what eſcaped their Ravages were deſtroyed by the Danes, and the Saxon and Norman Invaders. And it is highly worthy of remark, that whatever Country theſe Northern People

* Borlaſe.

† Dr. Blair's Diſſert to Oſſian Poe.

‡ Walker's Iriſh Bards.

§ O' Halloran's Hiſtory of Ireland.

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invaded or attempted to conquer, they warred as much againſt Arts, Sciences, and Letters, as againſt Men. In Wales, they carried this ſavage policy to the greateſt length, not only deſtroying all the records they could find, but putting to the ſword all the Poets and Antiquaries that fell into their hands. In Scotland the ſame barbarous phrenzy ſeized them; and in Ireland, till the acceſſion of *James* I. it was a part of State Policy, to deſtroy or carry off all the Manuſcripts that could be diſcovered. *Sir George Carew*, Preſident of Munſter in Elizabeth's time, and the other Engliſh Officers in that kingdom, were charged "to collect all the manuſcripts they could, that they might "effectually deſtroy every veſtige of antiquity and letters throughout "the Kingdom."

In the infancy of Society, men are occupied with the buſineſs of the preſent hour, forgetful of the paſt, and careleſs of the future. They poſſeſs neither ability nor inclination to contemplate their public tranſactions in the impartial light of Hiſtory, far leſs to treaſure up and record them. Their recent victories over hoſtile tribes are celebrated in the artleſs ſong, or commemorated by the rude monument *; but to preſerve any regular ſeries of connected events, is a deſign, which they enjoy not the means to execute, ſcarcely the capacity to comprehend. Now the Iriſh, it is very evident, were not in this infantine ſtate, when in the very firſt ages of Chriſtianity they are repreſented to us as a learned Nation. But, even if we ſuppoſe this diſputable, as we find in various inſtances that the tales of the Iriſh Bards were founded upon facts, we may reaſonably conclude their predeceſſors took the ſame courſe; that they ſophiſticated the truth poſſibly by their additions, but were not entirely inventors. Their very fictions, ſays *Dr. Leland*, and he was not much their friend, ſeems to prove that ſome foundation of true Hiſtory lay at the bottom of their gaudy ſuperſtructures. Were we even to ſuppoſe, ſays he, that the old Iriſh poets were inventors of the whole ſeries of accidents and incidents ſo circumſtantially detailed by them, they ſtill muſt have drawn their

* Tacitus.

picture from that government, and thoſe manners, which ſubſiſted in their own days, or were remembered by their Fathers. So that we may reaſonably conclude the State of Ireland, for ſeveral Centuries at leaſt before the introduction of the Engliſh power, was ſuch as they deſcribe it in their earlier periods *.

Rude times have produced very few tolerable Hiſtorians; but all ages univerſally, and all countries, where military merit ſubſiſted with a conſpicous luſtre, have produced *Bards* famous in their days. Every *Celtic* nation took care to perpetuate the memory of their Patriot Heroes in their Poetical Annals. Even crowned heads, and warlike Chieftains, thought it no diſparagement to their high rank, to exerciſe their talents in the Poetical Eulogiums ſo common in thoſe times. Hence it was, that in the ſpacious Hall of an old Celtic King, an hundred Bards ſometimes joined in concert. *Keating* informs us, there were no leſs than a thouſand celebrated Poets in Ireland during the reign of one Monarch.

*Horace* obſerves that "many brave men, who lived before Agamemnon, "were buried in oblivion, unlamented and unknown, becauſe they had "the misfortune of wanting a Poet to celebrate their memory." That the works of many eminent Poets may have periſhed, is true; at the ſame time it is evident, that of all monuments, thoſe reared by the Muſe of a genuine Poet are the moſt expreſſive, the moſt durable, and conſequently the moſt to be deſired. The fainteſt traces of the magnificent Babylon are not to be inveſtigated. The famous Egyptian Pyramids, though ſtill extant, have not been able to preſerve the names of the vain Monarchs, by whom they were conſtructed. But the ſtructures which Homer has built, and the Monuments which Virgil has raiſed to the memory of Illuſtrious men, can periſh only with the nations of the earth †.

Prejudice is the parent of unaccountable Perverſion. The Authenticity of the earlier periods of the Iriſh Hiſtory has been called in queſtion; nay with very unbecoming illiberality, it has been reprobated;

* Leland's Hiſtory of Ireland.

† Dr. Macpherſon's Critical Diſſertation.

while at the very ſame time, and by the very ſame Writers, Priam, Achilles, and the general characters and ſubſtance of the Trojan conteſt, are ſuppoſed to have had an exiſtence. Why this exceſs of belief in one People, and of diſbelief in another? It cannot be from irrefragable facts, or from indiſputable Hiſtorical data. The common Chronology of Greece ſhews us, that the ſcattered fragments of Grecian Hiſtory were preſerved during *thirteen Centuries* by Oral tradition *. The tales or Rhapſodies of the Αοιδοι were ſucceeded by thoſe of the Cyclic Poets †. Nor did compoſition in proſe begin until the uſe of alphabetic writing, about ſix or ſeven Centuries before Chriſt. Does the Iriſh Hiſtory ſtand upon more queſtionable ground than this?

In the fifth Century, as we have already ſeen, the Iriſh undoubtedly had Records, and thoſe Records ſtill referred to others that were anterior. But even ſuppoſing them to have been unpoſſeſſed of Records; were not the Poems of their Bards entitled to as much regard as the Poems of the Hellenic tribes? The Greeks had no accurate Hiſtory before the Olympiads. Nihil a Græcis ante Olympiades accuratè ſcriptum eſſe ‡. The firſt Olympiad which the Greeks uſed in their Chronological compoſitions, was in the year 776 before Chriſt. Nor even with theſe were they correct. There is nothing, ſays *Plutarch*, but uncertainty and contradiction in the accounts which Hiſtorians have given us even of Lycurgus, the celebrated Spartan lawgiver. *Joſephus*, who brought down his antiquities to the year of Chriſt 94, goes farther. He aſſerts, that the ancient Greek writers deſtroy one another's credit; that the genealogies of Heſiod are corrected by Acuſilaus; that Acuſilaus is condemned by Hellenicus; Hellenicus accuſed of falſhood by Ephorus; Ephorus by Timæus; Timæus by his ſucceſſors; and Herodotus by all the world.

The Romans at firſt made no application to letters or ſedentary occupations. *Cato* is introduced by *Cicero* as ſaying, it had been anciently the faſhion at Roman feaſts, to ſing *Heroic ballads*, in honour of their Anceſtors; but that this cuſtom had been diſcontinued even ſo late as

* Gillies's Hiſtory of Greece.

† Caſaubon. ‡ Juſtin Martyr.

in his own time *. They had no Hiſtorical writings at Rome, till the ſixth Century of that City, or the ſecond Century before Chriſt. Their Bards were their Hiſtorians.

The Roman and the Grecian ſtories notwithſtanding, in their earlieſt periods, are credited, while the Iriſh is treated with contemptuous indifference, though ſupported upon the ſame principles. This faith in the traditionary information and antiquities of the Greeks and of the Romans, while the utmoſt dereliction is manifeſted to thoſe of Ireland, is extraordinary; but men are not unfrequently firm in inconſiſtency. In youth the mind receives its bias, and its faith in regard to Greek and to Roman monuments; nor are the prejudices incident leſs indelibly implanted, than thoſe are to Volumes of a more ſacred nature, on which hope ſhould reſt, and credibility be founded.

In treating thus of ancient Greek and Roman Hiſtorians, and the circumſtances which they relate—it is far from being our intention to queſtion their authority, or to blur their venerable fame with the obloquy of falſhood and fabrication. Homer even, the Hellenic immortal Bard, who ſang ſo many Centuries before the Greeks commenced their Hiſtorical compoſitions, is not meant to be ſuſpected to have dealt entirely in fiction, or in the regions of an unbounded fancy. The inſinuation would be indecent: and yet the conduct of many of his Admirers would warrant the retaliation.

But to thoſe who will not allow any nation of Europe to have a retroſpect beyond the hallowed pales of the Greek and the Roman literature—it may not be amiſs to obſerve, that the Grecian communities themſelves, thoſe even which juſtly claimed the honour of ſuperior antiquity, not only acknowledged their debt to *Strangers* for the moſt important diſcoveries they poſſeſſed, not only in Religion, in Agriculture, and the Arts; but contented themſelves with the glory of having diffuſed a *borrowed light*, over the melancholy gloom of ignorance, which overſpread their neighbours. Their traditionary accounts, indeed, in the wide circle of ages, deprived the great Inventors of arts, and generous benefactors of ſcience, of their merited fame, and

* Ferguſon's Roman Hiſtory.

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well-earned honours. Of Linus, Orpheus, Muſæus, and Melampus, little elſe than the names remain; and to determine the time in which they flouriſhed, was a matter of as much difficulty two thouſand years ago, as it remains in the preſent age *.

On grounds then of equal authenticity, if not in ſome reſpects of better authority, than thoſe of either the earlier periods of the Greek or the Roman ſtories, we ſhall now proceed to the ſecond part of our ſubject.

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In the year of the world 2736, according to the Hebrew computation, it is ſaid, Ireland was invaded from Galicia in Spain, by the ſons of *Mileſius*, whoſe ſucceſſors held the ſovereignty of the kingdom for upwards of 2400 years, under 171 Princes †. Of the ſons of Mileſius, the iſſue of three only are preſerved in the Iriſh Annals. Theſe three ſons are *Heber*, *Ir*, and *Heremon*. The line of Heber begins with the three ſons of *Oliull-Olum*, namely, *Eogan-Mor*, *Cormac-Cas*, and *Cian*. The poſterity of the two firſt are from theſe Anceſtors diſtinguiſhed into *Eoganachts* and *Dal-gas*.

The line of Heber, or *Houſe of Munſter*, being deſcended from the eldeſt ſon of Mileſius, claimed a kind of preſcriptive right to the Monarchy of Ireland; yet the Heremonians, though the youngeſt branch, gave infinitely more Monarchs to Ireland ‡. The Monarchy in every period of the Iriſh Hiſtory was confined to the poſterity of theſe three ſons of Mileſius, except in three inſtances in the line of *Ith*, who were, in the main, of the ſame Royal Stock. The *Book of Invaſions*, the *Pſalter of Caſhell*, together with various Poems, aſcertain-

* Gillies's Hiſtory of Greece.

† O'Halloran's Hiſtory of Ireland.

‡ Ibid.

that

that the whole of Ireland was in the beginning divided between the two brothers Heber and Heremon. That Heber, as the elder, choſe the Southern half, a line being drawn from Galway to the Bay of Dublin, ſo that the Provinces of Leinſter and Munſter, including the preſent County of Clare, fell to his ſhare; whilſt thoſe of Ulſter and Connaught were the property of Heremon.

From this deſcent, the ancient Iriſh are generally diſtinguiſhed from thoſe of later periods by the name of *Mileſians*. In the native Iriſh they are called *Clana-Miledh*, or the poſterity of the Hero. His real name was *Gollamh*; but, as a mark of pre-eminence, he was moſtly called *Miledh-Eſpaine*, or the Hero of Spain. The very remote period, indeed, in which this invaſion took place, or rather at what period the Spaniards, or mixture of Spaniards and *Carthaginians*, emigrated from Spain to Ireland, is variouſly related. We have above ſaid, on the authority of various Hiſtorians, that it was about the year of the world 2736. But Colonel *Vallancey* *, whoſe reſearches are invaluable, and much to be relied upon, takes it to be about the time of *Aſdrubal's* defeat in Spain by *Scipio* and his brother *Cneius*; that is, about 216 years before Chriſt: for at that time the Carthaginians were not only repulſed in Spain, in Africa, and the Balearic Iſlands; but many of their Cantons of Spain likewiſe threw off their yoke, and ſubmitted to the Roman power. And ſome of the Iriſh Hiſtorians agree moſt accurately in the period.

However this may be, the account of the line of Heber, which is the ſubject of the preſent enquiry, ſeems to be with ſome appearance of more than common accuracy taken up in the year of the world 3912, or ninety-two years before Chriſt. At that time, *Duach Donn* was *Monarch of Ireland.*

From him deſcended, as may be ſeen in the annexed genealogical table, ten Princes of Ireland to *Olioll-Olum* King of Munſter †.

Olioll-Olum, of the Royal line of Heber, having aſcended the throne of Munſter, married *Sadhb* the daughter of *Conn*, Monarch of Ireland,

* Collectanea de rebus Hibernicis.

† Keating's [illegible]ory of Ireland.

and

and had by her ſeveral ſons; the eldeſt of whom, *Eogan More*, was the father of the illuſtrious families of the Maccarthy's, O'Sullivans, Clancarthy More's, and O'Brien's; with all the ſpreading branches of thoſe noble and glorious tribes *. But doubt may ſtill be ſuppoſed to hang over thoſe very diſtant periods; eſpecially as, in addition to what we have ſaid, Sir *James Ware* acknowledges, "that all the information "now remaining of what paſſed in Ireland before the light of the "Goſpel began to dawn there, is extremely little." The accounts of that learned Writer himſelf, relative to the Kings of Ireland, began no higher than *Leogaire*, who was contemporary with St. *Patrick*, and aſcended the throne in the year of Chriſt 421. Tradition indeed, he acknowledged, might for a time have preſerved a confuſed ſhadow of great events. The compoſition of Bards and Fileas might have tranſmitted through a few generations ſome occaſional atchievements of their Heroes; but it was hazardous to depend on either for a regular and continued Hiſtory.

We have already taken our genealogical departure from *Duach Donn*, who, it is true, was five centuries before St. Patrick. But we have merely marked his reign as a point to ſet out from. That which paſſed between his time, and the arrival of the Roman Saint, may poſſibly have been decorated with fiction. The mere dates of the Reigns of Sovereigns, however, may be exempt from ſuch ſuſpicion of fallacy. The lives of Kings are plain and notorious facts; and may with preciſion be handed down from memory. About the period at which we are now arrived; that is, a few years preceding the birth of Chriſt, the Germans, South Britons, Caledonians, and Natives of Hibernia, are ſuppoſed to have been nearly of the ſame character, that is, as a late Scottiſh writer ſuppoſes, equally illiterate, equally unpoliſhed, and equally barbarous †.

This portrait, it is to be hoped, is overloaded; but it is dwelt upon, though afterwards diverſified by the ſame writer. About the latter end of the firſt century, the difference between the Hibernians and the people

* Keating's Hiſtory of Ireland.

† Dr. Macpherſon.

of

of Britain muſt have been inconſiderable. In the ſecond, third, and fourth centuries, they preſerved an equal character. In the fifth, ſixth, and ſeventh, however, Religion flouriſhed in Ireland; and to that ſuper-eminent degree, that ſhe was commonly ſtyled the Mother Country of Saints; and reputed the Kingdom of Arts and Sciences *. The Saxons and Angles ſent thither many of their Princes and Nobles to have the benefit of a pious and liberal education. The moſt eminent teachers, even, of both the northern and ſouthern Britain, received their inſtructions at the Iriſh ſeminaries of learning and literature.

Yet whence did this very extraordinary difference ariſe? Were there exiſting any moral or phyſical reaſons, why Ireland ſhould thus outſtrip her contemporaries, and excluſively tend towards perfection? No enemies, it is ſaid, invaded her from abroad, and ſhe had an unuſual tranquillity at home. Hence the times in which *Bede* lived were the golden ages of Ireland. That kind of learning which then ſubſiſted in the world, flouriſhed moſt in that Country †. With this then of courſe, the picture might have been finiſhed; but the outline was too flattering, and the proportion was too true. A diſcordant ſhade was not inapplicable. The ſame pencil, therefore, that gave the brilliant, and probably the genuine ſketch, diſfigured the whole with the aſſertion, that even at the moment, when ſo celebrated for erudition, ſyſtems of Iriſh antiquity were formed; and the Old Teſtament was dragged forth as the ſtock, upon which the Mileſians were to ingraft their fictions and their abſurdities.

How far the Iriſh were, or were not, cultivated in the years immediately preceding the birth of Chriſt, is of no moment to the preſent enquiry, and therefore ſhall be avoided in diſcuſſion. As *Tacitus* however acknowledges the Iriſh Ports were more reſorted to than the Britiſh, we may at leaſt have the privilege of ranking the improvements of the Iriſh with the improvements of the Engliſh. *Julius Cæſar* ſays, " On the coaſt of Britain, there were Colonies from the neighbouring " Continent, ſtill diſtinguiſhed by the names of the Countries from

* Dr. Macpherſon.

† Ibid.

" whence

" whence they had come; that theſe Colonies, being poſſeſſed of agri-
" culture, and well-ſtocked with cattle, were extremely populous;
" that they had money made of iron and braſs; the firſt of which
" metals, with great quantities of tin, were found in their own iſland;
" the other metals were imported from abroad: that the inland parts
" were occupied by the original natives, who were curious in the orna-
" ments of their perſons, affected to have buſhy whiſkers, and long hair;
" that they ſtained or painted their bodies; and that their Druids were
" learned, and their ſeminaries of learning much reſorted to from the
" Continent." To Ireland then, as to Britain, let us ſuppoſe this cha-racter to belong. The Mileſians, I am aware, are averſe to conceding ſo much. But let this be ſufficient for the preſent purpoſe. It is not the line of wiſdom to inſiſt upon what will be contended, and what is in its own nature difficult of proof.

It would avail us little, likewiſe, were we to enter into a minute inveſtigation of the ſituation of Ireland, before the arrival of the Engliſh in Henry the Second's time. We ſhall only remark, that St. Patrick began his converſion of the Iriſh early in the fifth century, and that in one inſtance at leaſt they ſhewed evident marks of culture and civili-zation. " Iriſh property," ſays Dr. Leland, " was guarded by a
" number of admirable inſtitutions, which breathed a ſpirit of equity
" and humanity. We are not to wonder, therefore, that a people,
" accuſtomed to the refinements found in their own laws, ſhould be
" pronounced of all others the greateſt lovers of juſtice. This is the
" honourable teſtimony of Sir *John Davis* and Lord *Coke*. With
" ſhame it muſt be confeſſed, they were not taught their love of juſtice
" by the firſt Engliſh ſettlers *."

In Ireland, as in Britain, every tribe was governed by an indepen-dent Chief, or King. In Cæſar's time, there was no leſs than four ſuch Chieftains in Kent; and each of them veſted with Sovereign Autho-rity. Ancient Greece was in like manner divided into an immenſe number of Dynaſties. The ſame kind of Government prevailed of old alſo in Gaul, Italy, Spain, and Germany; and does to this day in

* Leland's Hiſtory of Ireland.

Hindoſtan. Speaking of Britain, *Mela*, a very ancient Author, ſays, "It abounds in Nations, and Kings of Nations." The Chiefs of Ireland were inaugurated by ſuch whoſe hereditary duty it was ſo to do. They ſwore to be ſtedfaſt in the Religion of their anceſtors, to protect their ſubjects, and adminiſter impartial juſtice to them *. High maſs being ſaid, and a wand conſecrated, it was delivered as a ſceptre to the Chief; when by certain words, pronounced by the family inaugurator, he was declared O'Sullivan More, O'Reilly, &c. and as ſuch was acknowledged by the people, nor ever after was to uſe his Chriſtian name. "Sic vetuſtati," ſays he, "placuit, nec hodie etiam diſplicet." The power of theſe Provincial Kings, indeed, in Ireland, and their Government, were exactly ſimilar to thoſe of the general Monarch †. His ſucceſſor, or *Tainiſt*, was elected in his life-time. Inferior *Toparchs* governed their reſpective diſtricts in the ſame manner; and this continued until the reign of James I. anno 1605, when the cuſtom of Taniſtry and Gavelkind were aboliſhed by judgement of the King's Bench, and the Iriſh Eſtates thereby made deſcendible according to the courſe of the common law of England ‡. One inſtance of the acknowledged Sovereignty of the Provincial Kings of Ireland will ſet this in an unequivocal point of view.

In the treaty of peace and concord concluded between Henry II. of England and Roderic King of Connaught, are the following words §:

"Hic eſt finis et concordia quæ facta fuit apud Windſore in Octabis "Sancti Michaelis, Anno Gratiæ 1175, inter Dominum Regem Ang-"liæ Henricum II. et Rodericum Regem Conaciæ, per Catholicum "Tuamenſem Archiepiſcopum, et Abbatem C. Sancti Brandani, et "Magiſtrum Cancellarium Regis Conaciæ.

* Philip O'Sullivan's Hiſtory of Ireland.
† Leland's Hiſtory of Ireland.
‡ Cox's Hiſtory of Ireland.
§ O'Halloran's Hiſtory of Ireland.

The

The ſame regal pretenſions continued long after, and were acknowledged. *Elizabeth* had an act formally paſſed in Ireland *, in which to expoſe the futility of the pretences of the family of O'Neal to any Sovereignty in Ireland, ſhe deduces her title to a Provincial regal authority, in a long hiſtorical detail from Gurmonde ſon to King Belinus. And her ſucceſſor James I. in a ſpeech made at Whitehall in full Council to the Iriſh Agents, April 21, 1613, uſes theſe remarkable words †: "Nay, there is a double cauſe why I ſhould be careful of "the welfare of the people of Ireland; firſt, as King of England, by "reaſon of the long poſſeſſion the Crown of England hath had "of Ireland; and alſo as King of Scotland, for the ancient Kings of "Scotland were *deſcended of the Kings of Ireland*; ſo as I have an old "title as King of Scotland, therefore you ſhall not doubt to be "relieved when you complain, ſo as you will proceed without clamor."

St. Patrick found the Iriſh a people, if not already civilized, ſingularly prone to the reception and practice of civilized duties; and peculiarly adapted to the proſecution of Theological and Sacred ſtudies. After his death, they perſevered in the ſame enlightened diſpoſition; and for full ſix hundred years together had the flattering appellation of a learned and a ſcientific people. But all nations have their dark and their ſhining periods. Domeſtic confuſions aroſe in their Governments. The Danes oppreſſed, pillaged, and plunged them in depravity. They ultimately turned to the Pope and to the Engliſh, and by them they were betrayed. To this period we ſhall haſten, prefacing only,

Firſt, That at the battle of Maigh-Ailbe, in the year of Chriſt 909, amongſt the nobles that fell was O'Sullivan More, Prince of Dunkerron in the County of Kerry ‡, whoſe chief caſtle was on the Banks of the River Kenmare, which was afterwards indeed deſtroyed, but which was nearly ſeven hundred years ſubſequently rebuilt, that is in 1595, by his lineal deſcendant O'Sullivan More.

* Iriſh Statutes, 11 Elizabeth, ſect. III. chap. 1.

† Cox's Hiſtory of Ireland.

‡ O'Halloran's Hiſtory of Ireland.

Secondly, That in 943 O'Sullivan More, with other great Chiefs of Munſter, aſſembled and attacked the Danes, whom they defeated *; O'Sullivan More acting as General of the Confederacy, and perſonally engaging and ſlaying Moran, who is called "Son to the King of "Denmark."

And that thence to 1127, when Donogh M'Carthy was King of Deſmond or South Munſter, and O'Sullivan More the firſt of the Eugenian Nobles, and to 1172, when Henry II. landed in Ireland, theſe two families held the ſupreme authorities in the ſouthern countries of Ireland †; that is, in South Munſter: *Thomond*, or North Munſter, being ruled by O'Brien, who was appointed to that Provincial Monarchy, by *Turlough* Monarch of all Ireland in 1131, on his expulſion of the Danes or Oſtmen.

I now come to the period when the Iriſh Hiſtory begins to be blended with the Hiſtory of England. This was in the reign of Henry II, for till then Ireland had never ſubmitted to any foreign authority whatſoever. "Hibernia ab initio ab omni alienarum Gen-"tium incurſu libera permanſit ‡." This was brought about by the Clergy. In the beginning of the twelfth century, the Iriſh Archbiſhops made a ſurrender of their excluſive clerical priviledges to Rome. In 1152, the Pope ſent *Palliums* to the Iriſh Biſhops by Cardinal Paperon. And four years after the Sovereignty of Ireland was, *in conſequence* of Papal uſurpation, granted to Henry the Second by a bull from Pope Adrian IV, who was himſelf an Engliſhman ||. This tranſaction, or rather the Hiſtory of the tranſactions in Ireland at this time, *Cambrenſis* calls that of the *Conqueſt* of Ireland; a ridiculous flattery to his maſter Henry, which has frequently been echoed by ſucceeding writers. The real matter of fact was this §. Some Engliſh Lords, with their

* O' Halloran's Hiſtory of Ireland.
† Ibid.
‡ Cambrenſis.
|| O'Halloran's Hiſtory of Ireland.
§ Leland's Hiſtory of Ireland.

vaſſals, engaged in the *ſervice* of an exiled Iriſh Prince, in one of the Iriſh Provinces. They had lands and towns aſſigned them for their ſervices, in aſſiſting him to recover his Dominions. They reſigned their acquiſitions to Henry, and were again inveſted with moſt of them, which they conſented to hold as *Liege Subjects*, by the uſual Engliſh tenures. Several of the Iriſh Chiefs alſo ſubmitted to pay homage and tribute to Henry, and, in conſequence of their ceſſions, received his promiſe to enjoy their other rights and privileges, as fully as before the King of England appeared, or interfered in Ireland.

The Kingdom of Ireland, therefore, was *not* conquered by Henry, though *Blackſtone* ventures to ſay ſo, and to eſtabliſh the formidable rights of conqueſt over it *: ſo incontrovertible is the truth of this aſſertion, that we have inconteſtable proofs there was a *regular compact* between Henry II, and the Iriſh Chieftains. They ſtipulated to become his tributaries; he bound himſelf to protect them in the Adminiſtration of their Governments. The Kings of England in ſhort were to be *Lords Paramount* of the territories which the Chiefs retained, and inheritors of thoſe which they reſigned; but were not to transfer or grant away theſe dominions †. "The Chieftains," ſays Sir *John Davis*, "were to govern their own people by the *Brehon law*. They "were to make their own magiſtrates and officers; they were to par- "don and puniſh all malefactors within their ſeveral countries; they "were to make peace and war one with another, without control- "ment; and this *they did*, not only during the reign of Henry the "Second, but afterwards in all times, *even until the reign of Queen* "*Elizabeth*."

Henry II. arrived in Ireland in force in 1172, with the bull of Adrian IV, confirmed by his ſucceſſor Alexander III, by which the Sovereignty of Ireland was transferred from its natural Princes to this ſtranger ‡. The very next day after his landing, *Dermot M'Arthy* preſented him

* Leland's Hiſtory of Ireland.
† Ibid.
‡ O'Halloran's Hiſtory of Ireland.

with

with the keys of his own capital city of *Cork*, and rendered him homage as monarch of Ireland.

The county of Cork, as it is even at this day limited, is by much the largeſt in Ireland; nor is there any Shire in England that exceeds it in magnitude, except that of York *. Sir *William Petty* ſays, "This "County ſeems, in reſpect to people and pariſhes, to be *one eighth* part "of the whole kingdom." At the coming of Henry, as a *Dominion*, it was ſtill more extenſive. Cork, before the arrival of the *Strongbownians*, as the firſt Engliſh adventurers were denominated, was a kingdom of itſelf, the Kings of which were the *M'Carthy's*, that family being found in the poſſeſſion of it by the Engliſh. This kingdom comprehended all that tract of Country from *Liſmore* to *Brandonhills*, in the County of Kerry, where they face the Eaſtern parts of that county. Beſides the county of Cork, and the Weſtern parts of Waterford, it alſo comprehended another county, formerly called *Deſmond*, but which is now a part of Cork and Kerry †. Deſmond in the Iriſh language ſignifies South Munſter. A manuſcript, called a Breviate of the getting of Ireland, &c. in the College library of Dublin, E. Tab. 3, No. 18, mentions M'Carthy More of Deſmond, *O'Sullivan More* of Dunkerron, and *O' Sullivan Beara* of Dunboy in Kerry, as the great Iriſh Chieftains of South Munſter.

In a liſt of antient Iriſh territories and places, and by what Mileſian families poſſeſſed both before and after the arrival of Henry II. in Ireland, are the following ‡,

Graffan, Cnoc-Graffan, or Knoc-Raffin, in the county of Tipperary, one of the Royal Palaces of Munſter in early days, and afterwards, the particular manſion of O'Sullivan More.

Beara, in the county of Cork, now divided into the Baronies of Beare and Bantry, poſſeſſed by the O' Sullivans and O' Driſcols.

* Smith's Hiſtory of Cork.

† Ibid.

‡ O' Halloran's Hiſtory of Ireland.

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"The King of Eoganacht Graffan," ſays *Colonel Vallancey* *, "was "O' Sullivan More, whoſe anceſtors held their Chief regal ſeat at "Knoc-Graffan, on the banks of the river Shure in the county of "Tipperary."

O' Sullivan More, on the landing of the Engliſh in the time of Henry II, was in addition to others, in poſſeſſion of the principality of *Dunkerron* in Kerry, which was called O' Sullivan's country, and he himſelf was prince of it †. He had alſo large poſſeſſions in *Iveragh*, as had alſo the *Macrebans*, who were a branch of the ſame family. O' Sullivan had a Caſtle boldly ſituated at *Ardea*, commanding a fine proſpect of the river Kenmare. The Caſtle of *Cariganaſs* built on the river Ouvane, belonged to O' Sullivan. It was an high ſtructure, with a ſquare court, and flanked with four round towers. In it, Daniel O' Sullivan kept garriſon in Queen Elizabeth's time. But upon *Tirrel's* flying the country, after the conqueſt of Dunboy, this caſtle and that of Ardea, were ſurrendered to the Queen's forces. Beſides the ruins of the caſtle of Dunkerron, there are in the pariſh of Templenoe, the ruins of another caſtle in Kerry, called *Cappanacuſhy*, which belonged to a younger branch of O'Sullivan More's family. The pariſh church of Templenoe, now in ruins, was built by an O' Sullivan More. In the pariſh of Cahir, are the ruins of another caſtle called *Littur*, erected formerly by the O' Sullivans; and in later times poſſeſſed by a family of the Maccrehans. But, as is above ſaid, the O' Sullivans came into theſe parts ſeveral Centuries before the landing of the Engliſh in Ireland ‡. Their lateſt reſidence, however, and before their territories were forfeited, was at *Dunlow-caſtle* boldly ſituated on an eminence on the river Laune; and about a mile from one of their ſeats called *Tomes*, which was ſituated on the weſt-end of the lake of Killarney.

Bear and Bantry, belonging to another branch of the O' Sullivan's, who were called, "O' Sullivan Beara, and O' Sullivan Bantra," com-

* Collectanea de rebus Hibernicis.
† Smith's Hiſtory of Kerry.
‡ Smith's Hiſtory of Cork.

poſed

poſed a large tract of country, but barren and deſolate *. Yet what thoſe parts wanted in the goodneſs of the land, was amply made up by the nobleſt Bays in the world; that of Bantry being capable of containing all the ſhipping of Europe. Near old Bantry, ſtood a Franciſcan Abbey, founded anno 1460, by Dermot O'Sullivan, now entirely demoliſhed. This noble family had formerly ſeveral good ſeats round the Bay; that of *Rinedizart* was demoliſhed by a ſhip of war in Oliver Cromwell's time. A conſiderable part of their poſſeſſions lay to the weſt of Carbery. O'Sullivan the Hiſtorian tells us, that an Engliſh ſhip took a Spaniſh veſſel in 1531 off the coaſt of Bear and Bantry, upon which, *his* grandfather, Dermot O'Sullivan, Prince of Bear and Bantry, manned out a ſmall ſquadron of veſſels, and brought in both the Engliſhman and the Spaniard to Bearhaven In 1749, Murtough O'Sullivan, who lived midway between Bear and Bantry at Roſs M'Owen; together with his elder brother who was commonly called *M'Fineen Duff*, and who lived near the river Kenmare, were the chief remains of the O'Sullivan family of Bear and Bantry. The O'Sullivan Bear, ennobled in Spain, was a deſcendant of the ſame family †.

The O'Sullivans, who were expreſſly of the ſame ſtock with the M'Carthys kings of Deſmond, had antiquity and power only to lay claim to, in common with other great Mileſian families of Ireland. Their conſequence indeed they at one time held high; nor were they ſingular in ſo doing. An Hiſtorian of our own time ventures to ſay, "the Iriſh Chiefs regarded titles of nobility by creation, as degrada-" tions. And certain it is, that the few Iriſh who have ſtill preſerved " their family honours, ſhould in juſtice take precedence of the preſent " nobility of Europe, as being *Allodial*, or titles from the moſt remote " antiquity; whereas thoſe laſt are but of modern date ‡." Of this we have a remarkable inſtance in very late days. Elizabeth heſitated what ſhe ſhould do with Tirone, particularly as to his pardon and titles. So little did the Engliſh miniſtry ſtudy the character of the Iriſh, that

* Smith's Hiſtory of Cork.
† Ibid.
‡ O'Halloran's Hiſtory of Ireland.

they

they never once conſidered that the title of Earl of Tirone really degraded the Chieftain in the eſtimation of his followers; that he had long ſince rejected it with ſcorn and contempt, and truſted for his conſequence to the princely name of O Neal *.

We have already touched upon the poſitive and aſcertained royal prerogatives, of the provincial, as well as of the general Monarchs of Ireland. Here it may not be amiſs to ſay a word or two of other elective as well as hereditary diſtinctions. About the year 1002, it was decreed in a national aſſembly, "that great families ſhould for the "future be diſtinguiſhed by certain *Surnames*, to avoid confuſion †." But theſe were not to be arbitrarily impoſed, each Chief was to be called after ſome certain anceſtor. This cuſtom had been introduced into Munſter and other parts, but it was confined to a few families. The adjuncts *O'* and *Mac*, which imported the ſon, or the deſcendant, were now prefixed to each name. The chief of each family was diſtinguiſhed from its branches by preſerving the ſurname only, as O'Sullivan, M'Carthy, &c. It was not, however, until the beginning of the next age, that they became adopted all over the kingdom. To theyear 1465, in the reign of Edward IV, and very long afterwards, this cuſtom prevailed. At that period, however, it was enacted by the Engliſh Monarch, that the Iriſh, reſiding among the Engliſh ſettlers, ſhould be obliged "to aſſume the Engliſh garb and faſhion of the "hair; to be ſworn liege-men to the King within one year; and to "take *Engliſh ſurnames* ‡." And this in Engliſh policy was neceſſary, for it was the univerſal practice for every man or family that entered into a tribe, or under a Chieftain's Government, to aſſume the name of that tribe or Chieftain.

The adjuncts *O'* and *Mac* are both of Oriental origin §. *Mac*, even occurs in Geneſis; it denotes a deſcendant. *O'* implies a ſon in excellence. Thus the learned *Abbé Renaudot* ſays, "that the Egyptian "name O' Siris is formed of Chiris, or Siris, that is the ſun, and "O'(filius) ſon; therefore, O'Chiris, or O'Siris," is, "le fils de

* Leland's Hiſtory of Ireland.

† O'Halloran's Hiſtory of Ireland.

‡ Leland's Hiſtory of Ireland.

§ Collectanea de rebus Hibernicis.

"Soleil par excellence." The other word of diſtinction, *More*, which has occurred, is likewiſe Oriental. Mar, or Maur, ſignifies great. It is evidently derived from the Phœnician Mar, Lord or Prince *. A circumſtance not leſs remarkable, than that the Mileſians from the time they firſt conquered Ireland, down to the reign of *Ollamh-Fodhlas* ſhould have made uſe of no other arms of diſtinction in their banners, than a *Serpent* twiſted round a weapon, after the example of their Gadelian anceſtors †. However even the diſtinctions thus noticed were not all that were in uſe. The multiplied branches of great families took different appellations. Thus ſo late as the year 1599, the brothers of O' Sullivan More were called *O'Donoghoes* ‡.

It has already appeared that in their earlieſt ſtipulations with Henry II, the currency of their own laws and cuſtoms was provided for by thoſe of the Iriſh who became tributaries to the Crown of England. But in the time of Henry III, we find the aſpiring and rapacious *Engliſh Barons* in Ireland, accuſed of the deſtruction of the rights, privileges, and even lives of the natives §. They gave a free courſe to their oppreſſions; and in their rapines and maſſacres found themſelves freed by diſtance from the terrors of a rigidly impartial and ſevere tribunal. Their own profligate and partial repreſentations of the Iriſh to the Court of England, were thoſe alone which were attended to ‖. But they ſhared merely in the vices of the times; and only followed the pernicious example of their brethren in England, who deſpiſed and inſulted the weakneſs of the throne; oppoſed the execution of the laws; and by the public contentions and diſorders degenerated gradually into a band of outrageous plunderers ravaging each other, and tyrannizing over their inferiors, in all the meanneſs of deſpotic inſolence ¶. Many of the Iriſh wiſhed to become peaceable and uſeful ſubjects in Edward I's

* Colonel Vallancey, Collectanea de rebus Hibernicis.
† Ibid.
‡ Smith's Hiſtory of Kerry.
§ Leland's Hiſtory of Ireland.
‖ Ibid.
¶ Ibid.

time,

time, but their wiſhes were oppoſed. This could not fail to irritate their ſpirits, and to give a new edge to their reſentments. "Every "Engliſhman," ſays Sir *John Davies*, "might oppreſs, ſpoil, and "kill them without controlment. They were not admitted to any con- "verſe or commerce, nor permitted to enter into an town or city, "without peril of their lives." The *Murder* of an Iriſhman in the time of Edward II, was puniſhed only by a fine, a ſlight reſtraint on the rage of inſolence and rapine; while the murder of an Engliſhman was a capital offence in the Iriſh native *.

In the reign of Edward III, in 1367, the Duke of Clarence was ſent over to Ireland, and held a Parliament at Kilkenny, where the famous *Statute of Kilkenny* was paſſed, which in its preamble recited "that the Engliſh of the realm of Ireland, before the arrival "of the Duke of Clarence, were become mere Iriſh in their "language, names, apparel, and manner of living, &c." It was therefore enacted, "that marriages, nurture of infants, and goſſi- "pred with the Iriſh, ſhould be conſidered and puniſhed as high trea- "ſon." It was alſo made highly penal to the Engliſh to permit their Iriſh neighbours to graze their lands, to preſent them to eccleſiaſtical benefices, or to receive them into monaſteries or religious houſes, or to entertain their *Bards*, who perverted their imaginations by romantic tales †. But this Parliament was not ſo abſurd as to dictate laws to the Southern and Northern Iriſh, the declared enemies of their authority. Theſe Provinces had recently manifeſted what was to be expected from them: even ſo early as the reign of Henry III, ſays *Leland*, the fierce and warlike race of *M'Carthy* took arms, and had a deſperate engage- ment with the Engliſh ſettlers, in which they were victorious. Thomas Fitzgerald and his ſon, eighteen Barons, fifteen Knights, and a great number of inferior note, were ſlain on the part of the Geraldines: and in this conteſt the M'Carthy's acted merely in defence of their own rights.

The ſituation of the Iriſh was dreadful. Clerical uſurpation had doomed them to a foreign yoke. Norman treachery and deſpotiſm

* Leland's Hiſtory of Ireland.
† Ibid.

would have bent them to the fouleſt bondage. Thus five years had ſcarcely elapſed from the arrival of Henry II, in Ireland, and from his receiving the ſurrendry of M'Carthy More's capital city of Cork as a mark of feudatory homage, till he *granted* the whole kingdom of Cork by *Charter* to *Robert Fitzſtephen* and *Miles de Cogan*.

When, in defiance of all honour and compact, we ſee that they were thus early to be abuſed; are they, as men, ſubſequently to be traduced with the opprobrious appellation of rebels, for daring to withſtand the mercileſs hand of Rapine, and the breach of every ſacred obligation? The footing gained by Henry, and his immediate ſucceſſors, was ſtained with blood. For nine long reigns, or rather for 238 years, the ſtruggle was ſanguinary. At the expiration of that time, or about the year 1410, we find the Iriſh, notwithſtanding the tranſient, occaſional, and inadequate attempts to ſubdue them, again gradually advancing in power, and enlarging in their poſſeſſions. They ſurrounded the moſt flouriſhing ſettlements and richeſt towns of the Engliſh. An annual ſtipend even, afterwards well known by the name of *Black rent*, was paid to the powerful Iriſh Chieftains, to purchaſe their protection; a ſort of recognition of their antient ſovereignty. The ſept of the *Saxons*, they ſaid, they would ſuffer to live unmoleſted *.

From the time of Henry II, however, until the diviſions between the houſes of York and Lancaſter, when moſt of the great *Engliſh Lords* in Ireland armed to aſſiſt their friends in England, many of the Iriſh continued under ſubjection to the Engliſh. Not indeed to the Crown of England ſo much as to the Barons of England; for we are aſſured by Sir *John Davies*, on the moſt accurate reſearch, that the whole royal revenue of the realm of Ireland, certain and caſual, did not amount to ten thouſand pounds annually, though the medium be taken from the beſt ſeven years, during the long reign of Edward III. On the riddance of theſe multiplied tyrants however, the Iriſh who ſmarted under their laſh, took arms, and a general defection was the conſequence, in 1449 †.

* Leland's Hiſtory of Ireland.

† Smith's Hiſtory of Cork.

This temporary emancipation of the Iriſh, ariſing from the conteſts of the Engliſh amongſt themſelves, gave them hopes of a permanent freedom. But the deluſion was a lull to poſitive deſtruction. Henry VII. mounted the throne in 1485, and from his reign we may date the effectual revival of the Engliſh power in Ireland; which from the Scottiſh war in the reign of Edward II. had gradually declined into a miſerable and precarious ſtate of weakneſs *. The ſeignory of the Crown of England over the whole body of the Iriſh, ſeemed in former reigns to have been forgotten; but now we find it formally claimed and aſſerted, and ſome of the moſt potent of the Iriſh Chieftains, by their perſonal connexions with Henry's deputy, become the avowed friends of the Engliſh power. And yet the tribute called the *Black rent*, for a long time paid to ſeveral Iriſh Chieftains, was not diſcontinued.

Henry VIII, to conſolidate this authority; to obviate the deſigns of the Papacy; and to aſſert his own Supremacy; cauſed all the Iriſh that ſubmitted, to renounce the Pope's uſurpation (though it was his own and his Progenitors ſole title and pretenſions to Ireland), and to own the King's ſupremacy by Indenture. One of theſe Indentures, dated May 1543, had, amongſt other names, "M'Arthy More, Dom. "de Rupe, alias Lord Roch; M'Arthy Reagh; O'Sullivan More, "ſuæ nation; O'Sullivan Bear, ſuæ nation: all theſe Indentures "are regiſtered in the red book of the privy council in Ireland †." He likewiſe dropped the title, borne by all his predeceſſors, of Lord of Ireland, and aſſumed that of *King* ‡. And this he did becauſe the Pope, and the other Roman Catholics of Europe, threatened to deprive him of a kingdom which he held only in grant from the Soverign Pontiff; and which grant he virtually threw away when he renounced the Pope's ſupremacy.

The various eſtabliſhments which had been made with reſpect to Religion, and reverſed in the ſucceſſive reigns of Henry VIII. Edward VI.

* Leland's Hiſtory of Ireland.
† Cox's Hiſtory of Ireland.
‡ Leland's Hiſtory of Ireland.

and

and Mary, had ſo embittered mens minds, that when Elizabeth came to the throne, and again changed the ſyſtem, the Partiſans of Rome inveighed againſt the Heretical Queen, and her impious Miniſters. The Clergy who refuſed to conform, abandoned their Cures; no Reformed Miniſters could be found to ſupply their places, the Churches fell to ruin, the people were left without any religion, worſhip, or inſtitutions; and the ignorant were taught to abominate a Government which they heard conſigned to all the terrors of the divine vengeance. Moreover they were deſired to ſtand prepared for a glorious opportunity of aſſerting the cauſe of Religion; and were aſſured of effectual ſupport, both from the Pope, whoſe authority had been profaned, and from the King of Spain, now particularly offended with Elizabeth. Elizabeth however was firm in her purpoſe. The conſequence was, the Pope addreſſed a Bull to the Prelates, Princes, Nobles, and People of Ireland, exhorting them to the recovery of their liberty, and the recovery of the Holy Church, and promiſing them the ſame *indulgences* granted to thoſe who fought againſt the Turks: a *Banner* even was ſolemnly conſecrated and delivered on the occaſion *.

One of the firſt acts of Elizabeth's reign in Ireland was dated 1559, one year after her acceſſion to the Crown, and in which, by written inſtructions to the Earl of Suſſex, her deputy in that country, ſhe directs that "M'Arthy More be ordered to hold his Eſtate after the Engliſh "manner, as the earls of Thomond and Clanrickard †." A few years afterwards, in 1565, M'Arthy More repaired to England, and made a ſurrender of his eſtate to Elizabeth: which ſhe re-granted to him by Letters Patent, and created him Earl of Clancare, and Baron of Valentia ‡. *O'Sullivan More* continued refractory, and diſdained ſubmiſſion. O'Sullivan Beare, however, took out a Patent alſo for his eſtate, wherein was a clauſe, that "he ſhould pay all ſuch rents and "ſervices as were due to the ſaid Earl of Clancare." Theſe rents and

* Leland's Hiſtory of Ireland.
† Ibid.
‡ Cox's Hiſtory of Ireland.

ſervices,

ſervices, as characteriſtic of the times, may not be unworthy of notice: they were as follow:

Firſt, to aid him with his whole ſtrength and ſuccours, and to be Marſhal of his army.

Secondly, every arable plow-land to pay five gallow-glaſs or kern, or ſix ſhillings and eight pence; or a beef for each, at the election of M'Arthy More.

Thirdly, that M' Arthy ſhall have half a crown for every ſhip, that comes to fiſh or merchandize in O'Sullivan Beare's harbours.

Fourthly, to have merchandize brought thither at the ſame rate as O'Sullivan has.

Fifthly, to entertain M'Arthy More and his train two days and two nights at Dunboy; and at all other times he has occaſion to travel that way, to entertain M' Arthy and his body ſervants, and to quarter the reſt on his Country.

Sixthly, he is to ſend horſe-meat to Pallace, for M'Arthy's ſaddle horſes, and pay the groom three ſhillings and four pence out of every arable plow-land.

Laſtly, he muſt find the hounds, greyhounds, and ſpaniels of M'Arthy, whenever they come; and one ſhilling and eight pence per annum to the huntſman, out of every plow-land.

Notwithſtanding this ſubmiſſion of M'Arthy More, two years afterwards, being encouraged by *O'Neile's* rebellion in the North, and deſpiſing his title of Earl of Clancare, he confederated with O'Sullivan More and others, aſſumed what was his right, the title of King of Munſter, and invaded the Engliſh poſſeſſions *. The ſtrength of his mind however was unequal to the conteſt. He ſubmitted the next year to the Lord Deputy, and ſued for the Queen's pardon. The O'Sullivans ſtill held out: and the oppoſition to the Engliſh Government increaſed generally throughout the realm. It continued with ſome moments of reſpite for more than twenty years, and in its progreſs grew to be the moſt univerſal and dangerous defection to the Engliſh Power that ever was in Ireland. In Munſter it was principally ſupported by the O'Sul-

* Smith's Hiſtory of Cork.

livans.

livans* . *Eſſex* himſelf was obliged to march into Munſter, to quell the tumults in that quarter. "In 1599," ſays Dr. *Leland*, "Eſſex went "over to Ireland, to ſtop the progreſs of a rebellion, which was almoſt "general. The Earl of Tirone headed it in the North: O'Donnel in "Connaught; M'Arthy and the O'Sullivans in Munſter." Eſſex writes to the Queen from Munſter, of the ſuperiority of the rebels, of their abler bodies, and more perfect uſe of arms. The ſept of M'Arthy More at this period gave to their Chieftain three thouſand fighting men as his immediate followers †.

Previous to the expedition of Eſſex, that is, in 1586, Elizabeth granted to certain perſons, whom after the manner of Henry II. ſhe ſtyled *undertakers*, the whole of the kingdom of Munſter. To theſe ſhe allotted ſpecific meaſurements. Sir Walter Raleigh had 12,000 acres granted to him, under certain ſtipulated tenures. Elizabeth's favourite ſcheme was that of peopling Munſter with an Engliſh Colony ‡. Letters were written to every County in England, to encourage younger brothers to become undertakers in Ireland. Eſtates were offered in fee at a ſmall acreable rent of three pence, and in ſome places two pence. The undertaker for 12,000 acres was bound to plant eighty-ſix families on his eſtate, and ſo in proportion. *None of the native Iriſh* were to be admitted even among their tenantry. Sir Chriſtopher Hatton, Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir Thomas Norris, Sir Warham Saint Leger, Sir George Bourchier, and a number of others, received grants of different portions. The lands thus forfeited in Munſter (and a moiety of which were at leaſt parcelled out) are generally ſaid to have amounted to five hundred and ſeventy-four thouſand ſix hundred and twenty-eight acres §. About one half was reſtored to ſuch as afterwards received pardons.

The blow to the poſſeſſions of the Chieftains of Munſter, by this ceſſion of lands to Engliſh adventurers by Elizabeth, was ſevere.

* Smith's Hiſtory of Cork.
† Cox's Hiſtory of Ireland.
‡ Leland's Hiſtory of Ireland.
§ Ibid.

It at once wreſted from them one half, and it may readily be ſuppoſed the moſt productive half of their territories. She indeed preſumed to have juſt pretences for it. The Princes that had ſubmitted to her authority, ſhe ſaid, had again rebelled. This was true: but had ſhe, or rather had the former Sovereigns of England (from whom ſhe derived her claim), any juſt right to enforce ſuch authority; and to puniſh an oppoſition to it as rebellious? Were not the native Princes on their own ſoil, and were they not contending for their own birthrights? The Hiſtory of Mankind is now too well known to require any particular diſcuſſion on the depravity of Political, in contradiſtinction to the purity of Ethical principles. Morality has nothing to do with the Government of States, nor the ſovereignty of a people. The weak always give way to the powerful: the many, but diſcordant, to the one illegal, but efficient. From Rome, the Iriſh received their firſt mortal wound: but Rome did not mean the Iriſh ſo much an exceſs of injury, as ſhe meant herſelf an increaſe of ſupremacy and influence. The policy of the Hierarchy was founded in wiſdom; inaſmuch as wiſdom is the juſt apportioning of cauſes to effects. Univerſal Monarchy was her aim; and by art, inſtead of arms, ſhe almoſt as effectually accompliſhed it, as the Cæſars did with their Legions. The time too, when the grant of Ireland to Henry II. was made by Adrian IV. was propitious. It was not quite a century after the Norman Conqueſt of England, and when kingdoms were given and taken with a facility which is now ſcarcely to be credited.

With ſuch a right (and it is to be feared no Sovereign in Europe can at this day boaſt a much better hereditary one), Elizabeth and her Predeceſſors were politically warranted in the exertions they made for the general ſubjugation of Ireland; nòr were they in the tragi-comedy of State Impoſition deſerving of cenſure, for branding the hardy Chieftains, who oppoſed the yoke of ſervitude, with the character and the name of Traitors. But when this is granted, can it be denied that a ſtruggle in the Iriſh for their liberties, their laws, and their venerable conſtitution, was as natural, and at leaſt as laudable? Can

it, or ought it, to be attributed to them as a crime, that they fought and bled for the ſoil and the ſepulchres of their Fathers? Breach of faith indeed is criminal and unworthy. But is a Nation's property and blood to be tamely ſubmitted to the Invader and the Ambitious? This queſtion is too evident; a diſplay of argument can add no ſtrength to a point palpable and clear, as truth and demonſtration.

Heavy as the ſtroke was to the Iriſh, on Eſſex's proceeding into that country, and on the forfeiture of their lands, ſome of them yet recovered their reſolution, and again bade defiance to the Engliſh Power. Daniel M'Arthy in 1599, then King of Munſter, was depoſed by Sir *George Carew* *. And about the ſame time, we find the Iriſh enter into a treaty with Spain. "We," ſays O'Sullivan, Prince of Beara, in his letter to the King of Spain, written in Iriſh, and intercepted and tranſlated by Sir George Carew, then Preſident of Munſter, "We the "true Iriſh, long ſince deriving our root and original from the moſt "noble race of Spaniards, and from Mileſius, &c. as the teſtimonies of "our moſt venerable Antiquities, our Hiſtorians, and our Chronicles "declare, &c."

In 1600, however, Florence M'Arthy, who had ſucceeded to Daniel, as King of Deſmond, agreed to a ceſſation of hoſtilities with the Preſident of Munſter †. He likewiſe, as a furtherance to the Engliſh views, called a meeting of the Confederates at Connilo, where he betrayed, and delivered up, his own *Brother-in-law O'Sullivan More*, and ſeveral other Chieftains. The Lord Preſident, however, propoſed that a general pardon ſhould be granted to all of the Province of Munſter. And, in conſequence, more than 4000 pardons were taken out before the end of February 1600.

To O'Sullivan More, and 481 principal followers.
To O'Sullivan Beare, and 528 ditto.
To M'Arthy Reagh, and 210 ditto.
To John O'Dwyer, and 158 ditto.

* O'Halloran's Hiſtory of Ireland.
† Cox's Hiſtory of Ireland.

To

To James Fitzgerald, and 370 ditto.
To Teig O'Bryan, and 221 ditto.
To O'Mulrain, and 83 ditto.
To the People of Mogelly 151.
To the Inhabitants of Kerry 270.
And to Muſkry 542.

In every one of theſe Pardons was a proviſo, that they ſhould not be of benefit to any others than the actual tenants and known followers of the Lord who procured the Pardon *.

This truce did not continue long; who were to blame is uncertain; the Iriſh certainly were enflamed to bitter reſentments. Thus in 1601, we find that in Munſter, by the contrivance of O'Sullivan Beare, they had ſurprized the caſtle of Dunboy, garriſoned by their own friends the Spaniards, and had taken it from them, on the proſpect of the Spaniards ſurrendry of it to the Engliſh. O'Sullivan fortified it; and together with ſome Chieftains hired an additional number of *Bonnaughts*, or foot ſoldiers, at leaſt one thouſand. This was in February 1601: the Lord Preſident with all his forces attacked this place; but it was not until the 18th of June, that the Preſident took it by aſſault, and after the moſt valiant and obſtinate defence that had ever been known in Ireland †. Every man of the garriſon was either ſlain or executed. This gallant defence of Dunboy, together with the arrival of treaſure and large promiſes from Spain, made the Iriſh more reſolute than they were before. The conteſt, however, was unequal: the Iriſh in detached parties were almoſt annihilated. And thus the honour of completely reducing all the enemies of the Crown of England in Ireland, after a perpetual conteſt of 440 years, was declared to be effectuated by the arms of Elizabeth ‡.

But the flame was only ſmothered, not extinguiſhed. Upon the acceſſion of James I. the univerſities of Salamanca and Valladolid ſent over to Ireland a determination of the important queſtion, "Whe-

* Cox's Hiſtory of Ireland.
† Ibid.
‡ Leland's Hiſtory of Ireland.



"ther

" ther an Iriſh Papiſt might obey or aſſiſt a Proteſtant King?" Which they reſolved in the negative by two aſſertions. Firſt, that ſince the Earl of Tirone undertook the war for Religion, and by the Pope's approbation, it was as meritorious to aid him againſt the Hereticks, as to fight againſt the Turks. And, ſecondly, that it was mortal ſin any ways to aſſiſt the Engliſh againſt him; and that thoſe who did ſo could neither have abſolution nor ſalvation, without deſerting the Hereticks, and repenting for ſo great a crime *. The conſequence of this was, that a freſh, or rather the appearances of a freſh rebellion broke out early in the reign of James I.; but this was however ſoon put an end to. But more lands became forfeited in conſequence; and much after the ſame manner as in Elizabeth's time. The City of London in particular bought ſome of them. *Baronets* in 1611 alſo were created; the money ariſing from whoſe Patents was to be employed, it was ſaid, in the defence of Ulſter: 200 was the ſtipulated number, and each was to pay into the Exchequer a ſum adequate to the maintenance of 30 men in Ulſter, for three years, at eight pence per day.

In 1641, the Chiefs of Munſter aſſembled again in force in Carbery. And, in 1645, a *Nuncio* from Pope Urban VIII. landed in Ireland, with money and ſtores. An army was aſſembled under the auſpices of this Prelate, conſiſting of 16,000 foot, and 6,000 horſe †. This was at that memorable æra in the reign of Charles I. when that Monarch weakly ſacrificed the blood of *Stafford*, his former Deputy of Ireland; and whoſe death was but the prelude to his own. In 1643, the King agreed to a ceſſation of hoſtilities with the Iriſh, which was become requiſite, as well for the ſecurity of the Iriſh Proteſtants, as for promoting the royal intereſts in England; and for which the Parliament, as if he had favoured the Rebellion, reproached him ‡.

The year 1649, which was ſtained with the blood of this unhappy King, was fortunate to the Engliſh in Ireland. The Parliament then began ſeriouſly to debate about Ireland. *Oliver Cromwell* was appointed General of that kindom. In Ireland, as every where elſe,

* Cox's Hiſtory of Ireland.
† Smith's Hiſtory of Cork.
‡ Hume's Hiſtory of England.

Cromwell

Cromwell was vigorous and rapid. He carried the orders of the Parliament into execution, and ſubdued thoſe who were refractory, or who in any manner adhered to the Family of the unfortunate Stuarts. Notwithſtanding which, in 1653, according to *Thurloe*, O'Sullivan Beare ſolicited the French King for money to carry on new and independent deſigns in Ireland. The year preceding however, 1652, two Acts relative to Ireland paſſed; one for *confiſcation* of all the lands of rebels; another for adjuſting the claims of the adventurers, and veſting them with their Iriſh Eſtates *. The next year the Lord Broghill, in a general Council of war, propoſed that Ireland, now *ſubdued*, might be ſurveyed, the number of Acres taken, and all the forfeited lands be given amongſt the conquerors and adventurers of money. It was in like manner propoſed and agreed to, that the Iriſh ſhould be tranſplanted into Connaught, a meaſure which ſo ſcattered the Iriſh, that they were never able to make any effectual head afterwards †.

The accuſation againſt Charles I. that he countenanced the inſurrections in Ireland, was probably unfounded. At beſt it could have been but doubtful, for he gave the management of the war againſt the Iriſh to the Parliament, and diſpoſed of 2,500,000 acres of their forfeited Eſtates to the adventurers, by theſe two actions putting it out of his power to ſhew the Iriſh any favour whatſoever ‡. The number confederated in Ireland at that time is ſaid to have been at leaſt 200,000 fighting men.

From this time till 1688 there is little worth adverting to. The Commonwealth of England ceaſed, and Monarchy was reſumed. James II, however abdicated, or expelled, cauſed the *M'Carthys* and *O'Sullivans* to take to arms again in his behalf in 1688. Two years after, William defeated the Iriſh at the battle of the Boyne, M'Arthy More having previouſly ſurrendered Carrickfergus to the Duke of Schomberg, in which he was reduced to the greateſt extremity. The

* Leland's Hiſtory of Ireland.
† Smith's Hiſtory of Cork.
‡ Leland's Hiſtory of Ireland.

ſame year 1690, Cork was beſieged and taken, and in it were found ſeven Regiments, the Governors, M'Carthy's, O'Sullivan's, Clancarthy's, Tyrone's, and Barret's. The Lieutenants of this County for James, were Pierce Nagle, Daniel M'Carthy Reagh, O'Sullivan Beare, and Charles M'Carthy alias M'Donough *.

The 22d of March 1691, the war in Ireland was, by proclamation, declared at an end. It had, from William's firſt landing, laſted 17 months. The Rebellion in Elizabeth's time continued 15 years. The inſurrection in 1641 was not ſuppreſſed in leſs than 12 years.

James I. of England was the firſt Sovereign the Iriſh in general acknowledged. Him they looked upon as deſcended from Mileſius. Yet he wreſted *ſix entire counties* in the North from them; and, under the pretence of forfeiture, beſtowed them on his Scottiſh Favourites †. Charles behaved to the Iriſh, though they were attached to his Houſe, with as little faith as his Father. On the expulſion of James II. from Britain, Ireland declared itſelf *independent*; but William reduced it to ſubmiſſion. He, in his ſeverity, gave the laſt blow to the native Iriſh. His pardon (for he in mockery gave one) was confined; and indeed expreſsly warned the Chiefs by it who adhered to James, that they had no part to take, but obſtinately to continue the war, their deſtruction having been pre-determined ‡. And this was imputed to the influence of certain favorites, who were impatient for *forfeitures*. They were gratified by a commiſſion iſſued for ſeizing and ſecuring all forfeitures, although no courts of judicature were opened for proceeding regularly and legally. The commiſſioners ſeized without mercy.

The effect was, that William, by a ſhameful diſregard to his promiſes, and an almoſt perpetual violation of his protections §, drove great and ſmall of the Iriſh to diſtraction. At the Revolution the Iriſh ſubmitted to the new Government on terms which they had purchaſed by the points of their ſwords. But every article being diſgracefully broken,

* Smith's Hiſtory of Cork.
† O'Halloran's Hiſtory of Ireland.
‡ Leland's Hiſtory of Ireland.
§ Ibid.

the

the Nobility, Gentry, and the Commonalty of Ireland crowded to France; and it appears by reſearches and calculations made at the War-office in Paris, that from the year 1691 to the year 1745 inclusive, four hundred and fifty thouſand Iriſh inliſted under the Banners of France; not to ſay any thing of the numbers who went to Spain and to other Catholic Countries *. This treachery on the part of William was deciſive. The value of the forfeitures by him alone, as eſtimated by the Parliament of England at the Revolution, and when lands were not the *twentieth part* ſo dear as they are now, was £211,623. 6s. 3d. per annum. The old Iriſh families from that moment began to dwindle away, and at length ſunk to nothing. A more complete annihilation, in a ſhort period, was ſcarcely ever attained.

It was a favourite maxim with the Romans, to ſpare the obſequious, but to cruſh the proud; "Parcere ſubjectos, & debellare ſuperbos." The ſame maxim we have ſeen moſt induſtriouſly applied by the Engliſh to their ſiſter kingdom. In the ſon of a ſucceſſor of Alexander the Great of Macedon, an inſtance of the inſtability of fortune was ſtrikingly exemplified. Alexander, one of the ſons of Perſeus King of Macedonia, was, on his father's being diſpoſſeſſed of his kingdom by the Romans, educated at Rome, and employed in ſome of the public offices as a ſcribe or *Common Clerk* †. But England herſelf has exhibited degradations in every reſpect as mortifying. "I have more than once," ſays *Philip de Comines*, "been witneſs of ſome of the nobleſt Lords in "England being reduced by misfortnnes, during the conteſts of York "and Lancaſter, to the menial condition of lacquies." After this, and to the indefinite extent that the inſtances might be multiplied, the Iriſh of conſideration, who have been reduced, have only to regret that they have fallen in the ſtill varying circle of human contingencies, and that their once brilliant ſun has been only eclipſed by a more powerful luminary.

In tracing the outlines of this neceſſarily circumſcribed memoir, the greateſt care has been had to the fidelity of the hiſtorical quotations

* O' Halloran's Hiſtory of Ireland.

† Fergusſon's Roman Hiſtory.

upon

upon which it has been formed. No fictitious circumſtance, known as ſuch, has been admitted; nor has one unfounded aſſertion been hazarded. From the ſoundneſs of the materials is the fabrick to derive its ſtability. The Engliſh, confined within ſelf-impoſed ſcanty limits, have been regardleſs of their antient ſtory, and have given the leaſt ſignificant degree of illuſtration to the period preceding the Norman Conqueſt. This indeed is ſingular. It is curious they ſhould think the Hiſtory of their own Anceſtors of no moment, in compariſon with that of the Norman Princes, and their followers who ſettled in this country, and that they ſhould ſeem to think England of no account till it became a prey to Norman ravagers. Their materials, it is true, are not great. But there are Saxon Chronicles, which preſerve ſome lucid traces. After the Conqueſt, it muſt be confeſſed, Writers attached to the Normans paſſed the more antient Hiſtory of England with an invidious parſimony; while they regale us with every incident of Norman times in full diſplay. Modern Hiſtorians alſo, to excuſe their own indolence, ſay, it is not worth writing. But the fact is, that the ſmalleſt of the kingdoms of the Heptarchy, as well as thoſe of Ireland, was ſuperior in ſize and power to any of the Heroic kingdoms of Greece, whoſe Hiſtory we read with ſo much attention; and that the whole Grecian ſtory, till the period of Alexander, is not in itſelf more important or intereſting than that of Northumberland, South Munſter, or any leſs powerful provincial kingdom in England or in Ireland.

When O'Neal, who claimed the Sovereignty of Ulſter, waited upon Elizabeth in London, he was attended by a magnificent train of Iriſh followers. He appeared with a guard of *Gallowglaſſes*, arrayed in the richeſt habiliments of their country, armed with the battle-axe, their heads bare, their hair flowing on their ſhoulders, their linen veſts dyed with ſaffron, with long and open ſleeves, and ſurcharged with their ſhort military harneſs *. A ſpectacle, ſays *Camden*, to a people who imagined they beheld the inhabitants of ſome diſtant quarter of the Globe. This was in 1562, little more than two hundred years ago.

* Leland's Hiſtory of Ireland.

But

But where are the Dominions of this powerful Chieftain? Where likewiſe are the Deſcendants, and the Eſtates, of the O'Donnels, who, as we have ſeen, ruled in Connaught, of the M'Carthys of South Munſter, and of the O'Sullivans of Knoc Graffin, Dunkerron, and of Bear and Bantry? The date of their political exiſtence has paſſed away. Even the ſhattered fragments of theſe Mileſian ſtructures have been ſo effectually buried in obſcurity, that they now ſcarcely emerge from the deſtruction into which they progreſſively were hurled.

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THE preceding Memoir was finiſhed before the Firſt Volume of the Tranſactions of the Royal Iriſh Academy, beginning in 1787, was publiſhed. In that valuable work, which promiſes much from the ability with which it has commenced, a paper is inſerted, which, deducing inferences from hiſtorical data, ſerves as a ſumming-up of the evidence on the ſubject upon which we have been engaged. The paper is written by the learned Dr. Barnard, an Engliſh Divine of literary reputation, the preſent Biſhop of Killaloe. The inſertion of the whole of this elegant Diſſertation would be a corroboration of the truth of what has already perhaps too diffuſively appeared in our enquiry. But as an extract from it will be ſufficient for our immediate purpoſe, we ſhall confine ourſelves to a brief but a faithful quotation. Dr. Barnard expreſſes himſelf in the following manner:

" The origin of that portion of the inhabitants of Britain, properly
" called Scots, has been in point of Hiſtory ſo eſtabliſhed by the con-
" currence of all Writers on that ſubject both native and foreign,

" from Venerable Bede down to Sir George M'Kenzie, that, for a period " of at leaſt nine hundred years, it was never eſteemed matter of " queſtion, until ſome late Scottiſh Antiquarians, anxious to ſupport an " hypotheſis inconſiſtent with their own annals and tradition, have " thought proper wholly to reject the received opinion of their anceſ- " tors on this head, and to offer to the publick in its place an entire new " ſyſtem of their own, founded on arguments of probability, ſuffici- " ently plauſible and ingenious, but unſupported by written teſtimonies, " or any authentic documents whatever.

" Having read with ſome degree of attention what has been produced " in this controverſy on both ſides of the queſtion, and compared it as " well with the antient Hiſtories of the Scots and Iriſh, as with the " evidence of ſuch Foreign Writers as make mention of them, I am of " opinion, that a ſyſtem may be formed from theſe materials, equally " conſiſtent with probability and written authority, which rather tends " to reconcile than to ſubvert the opinions of both parties, and is at " the ſame time ſupported by as convincing evidence as truth at this " diſtance of time is capable of receiving.

" It appears to be highly probable that the *North* of Ireland might " have been originally peopled from the adjacent parts of Caledonia, " as the Scottiſh Antiquaries aſſert, and that the *Southern* inhabitants " of the iſland might have derived their origin from their neighbours in " South Britain (perhaps from the Belgæ and Danmonii, whoſe poſterity " in Ireland were called Firbolghs and Tuatha de Danan) : I am there- " fore ready to admit that the Iriſh might have been the Children " rather than the Parents of the Caledonians.

" But this conceſſion, as to the *firſt* population of Ireland, has no " tendency to invalidate the Hiſtory of a cerain Mileſian Dynaſty " having in proceſs of time invaded and obtained the dominion of the " country, without extirpating the antient Natives : for have not the " Romans, Saxons, Danes, and Normans in Britain, and the Engliſh in " Ireland, ſince done the ſame? But no one, I believe, has been ſo " abſurd as to infer that either of theſe kingdoms was peopled, as well

" as

" as ſubdued, by the invaders. It is equally an error to ſuppoſe that " the Iriſh Chronicles derive the blood of their whole nation from theſe " Mileſians; for none but their Princes, and the ſpreading branches " of their poſterity, pretend to trace their families from this honourable " ſource.

" If Genealogies had been preſerved in England with the ſame atten- " tion as they were in Ireland, we ſhould probably be aſtoniſhed to " find as many of our fellow-ſubjects, now in poverty and obſcurity, " with royal blood flowing in their veins, in one country as in the other. " Whoever has read the ſhort Hiſtory of the Line of Plantagenet, pub- " liſhed towards the beginning of this century, will be ſenſible of the " truth of this obſervation. But the Iriſh genealogical tables, which " are ſtill extant, carry intrinſic proofs of their being genuine and au- " thentic, by their chronological accuracy and conſiſtency with each " other, through all the lines collateral as well as direct; a conſiſtency " not to be accounted for on the ſuppoſition of their being fabricated " in a ſubſequent age of darkneſs and ignorance, but eaſily explained " if we admit them to have been drawn from the ſource of real family- " records and truth. So much of the Iriſh Hiſtory as relates to the " names and ſucceſſion of their Princes will certainly ſtand againſt every " reaſonable objection to its credibility, whatever ſuſpicion of errors, " or even fiction, may lie againſt other circumſtances contained in it.

" As to the high antiquity and long duration of the Mileſian Dynaſty " in Ireland, I can diſcern nothing incredible in the account of it. It " is natural to ſuppoſe that at what time ſoever this Spaniſh or Celtibe- " rian colony took poſſeſſion of Ireland, its leader became King; and " when we conſider the remoteneſs of this iſland from foreign invaſion, " we ſhall think it leſs wonderful that its ſucceſſion ſhould have conti- " nued unchanged through ſuch a long line of Mileſian Princes. The " ſame circumſtances in the Annals of China do not ſhock our belief; " and we account for it from the ſame cauſe, viz. its being ſeparated " from all connexion with the reſt of the world, which preſerved it " until the Tatar invaſion from thoſe revolutions which have ſo fre-

 " quently

" quently changed the Government of other Countries. And to come
" nearer home for an example, the Scottiſh line ſtill happily reigning
" in Great Britain, tracing it no higher than to its unqueſtioned Anceſtor
" Fergus the Second, is at this day not leſs ancient than the Line of
" the Mileſians was at the period down to which the written antiquities
" of that country ſtill extant are carried.

" I ſhall not here enter into a diſcuſſion concerning the moſt antient
" and authentic Annals of Ireland, ſaid to have been framed under
" the ſanction of public authority from time to time, till the invaſion
" of the Danes; but, as I before obſerved, even in thoſe more recent
" compilations which now remain, we find none of thoſe palpable
" contradictions in different Hiſtorians, none of thoſe uncertainties and
" variations in the names and order of their Kings, which appear in
" the Hiſtories of the darker ages of other nations, where fiction or
" tradition has ſupplied the want of authentic materials. A general
" agreement appears in the names and lineage of that long ſeries of
" Princes, that ſucceeded and deſcended from the firſt Conqueror, to
" the fifth Century; and the deſcent of the collateral branches is traced
" up to the Royal ſtem, with ſuch preciſion and conſiſtency, as ſhews
" it to have been once a matter of public concern. The later Bards
" and Senachies could not have fabricated tables that ſhould have ſtood
" the teſt of critical examination, as theſe will do; from whence I infer
" that they have been a true tranſcript from ancient records then extant,
" but ſince deſtroyed."

Under the ſanction of ſo high an Authority as that now quoted, we may with ſome confidence refer to the Tables alluded to by the learned Prelate. I ſhall therefore now inſert from them the genealogical deſcent of the family of O'Sullivan More, beginning with *Oilioll Ollum*, the forty ninth in deſcent from *Mileſius* by his eldeſt ſon *Heber*.

" *Oilioll-Ollum* King of Munſter.
" *Eogan-Mor*, Prince of Munſter.
" Fiachadh Muilleathan, King of Munſter.
" Oilioll Flan Beg, Prince of Munſter.

" Luid-

" Luidhead, Prince of Munſter.
" Corc, King of Munſter.
" Nadfraoch, Prince of Munſter.
" Aongus, Prince of Munſter.
" Feylin, Prince of Munſter.
" Criomthan, Prince of Munſter.
" Hugh Dubh, Prince of Munſter.
" Florence, King of Munſter.
" Sheaghnuſagh, Lord of his Country.
" Fiachadh, the Champion.
" Flann Roba, Lord of his Country.
" Duffionreacht, Lord of his Country.
" Morrough, Lord of his Country.
" Eachaidh, Lord of his Country.
" Maollura, Lord of his Coun try.
" *Sullevan*, (from whom A. D. 1002. the name is derived)
" Lord of his Country.
" Lorcan, Lord of his Country.
" Buaidhaig, Lord of his Country.
" Hugh, Lord of his Country.
" Cathaill, Lord of his Country.
" Buaidhaig, Lord of his Country.
" Maccrath, Lord of his Country.
" *Daniel O'Sullivan More*, Lord of his Country.
" Giolla Muccoda, (acquired the name) Lord of his Country.
" Dunlaing, Lord of his Country.
" *Murtough the Great*, Lord of his Country.
" Bernard Lord of his Country *.
" Buadhaigh, Lord of his Country.
" Dunlaing, Lord of his Country.
" Roger, Lord of his Country.

* This Bernard had a ſecond ſon, Philip, from whom the preſent O'Sullivan More is deſcended.

" Daniel,

" Daniel, Lord of his Country.
" Daniel, Lord of his Country.
" Daniel, Lord of his Country.
" Daniel, Lord of his Country.
" Daniel, Lord of his Country.
" Daniel, Lord of his Country.
" Owen Roe, Lord of his Country.
" Daniel O'Sullevan More *."

This Daniel O'Sullivan More died at Tomes, bordering on the ſouth-weſt ſide of the Lake of Killarney, 23d April, 1754, leaving no other iſſue than a natural ſon, whoſe name was Derby. His property of courſe, which was but a remnant of the very extenſive poſſeſſions enjoyed by his Anceſtors, was divided among Collateral relations; one of whom, a Counſellor O'Sullivan of Dublin (ſince dead iſſue-leſs), ſeemed to have had the beſt right to the title of O'Sullivan More; but he did not aſſume it †. Upon the extinction of this branch therefore we come to the other elder branch remaining, and that which has of courſe the only right to the name and the armorial bearings of the O'Sullivan More.

Daniel O'Sullivan More (diſtinguiſhed by Italics in the preceding liſt) of Carrigfinwoy, had iſſue Giolla Muccoda or Giles O'Sullivan, who made extenſive conqueſts in Kerry, and was father to Dunlaing, who died iſſue leſs, and to Murtogh the Great, who married Catherine M'Carthy of the Princely Houſe of M'Carthy More of the Palace.

From Murtogh the Great, or O'Sullivan More, deſcended Bernard O'Sullivan, a ſecond ſon, who married Mary M'Carthy, daughter to the noble M'Donough, chief ruler and poſſeſſor of the Barony of Duhallow, and by her had iſſue Philip O'Sullivan.

Philip O'Sullivan was married to Honora O'Connor, of the noble Houſe of O'Connors of Carriganphoil, and had iſſue Daniel O'Sullivan.

* Vide Keating's Hiſtory of Ireland.

† Dr. Teahan, the preſent titular Biſhop of Kerry, 1789.

# A Genealogical Table, shewing the Descent of the FAMILY OF Ô SULLIVAN MORE, from DUACH-DONN, MONARCH of IRELAND An.° Mundi 3912.

**DUACH-DONN**
*Monarch of Ireland*
*An.° Mundi 3912.*

- **Modha-Ned** *Prince of Ireland*
  - **Modha-Nuagad** *King of Munster*
    - **Oilioll-Olum** *King of Munster*
      - **Eogan-Mor** *King of Munster*
        - **Fiachadh** *King of Munster*
          - **Oilioll-Flan Beg** *Prince of Munster*
            - **Luidhead** *Prince of Munster*
- **Eochaidh-Garbh** *Prince of Ireland*
  - **Muireadhaeh-Muchna** *Prince of Ireland*
    - **Mofeibhis** *Prince of Ireland*
      - **Laoich-More** *Prince of Ireland*
        - **Eana Munchaoin** *Prince of Ireland*
          - **Deirgthine** *Prince of Ireland*
            - **Deirg** *Prince of Ireland*
- **Sullivan** *Son of Maolumh Ancestor to all the Sullivans, he lived A.D. 1002*
  - **Lorchan** *Lord of Munster*
    - **Buaidhaig** *Lord of Munster*
      - **Hugh** *Lord of Munster*
        - **Cathaill** *Lord of Munster*
          - **Buaidhaig** *Lord of Munster*
            - **Maccraith** *Lord of Munster*
              - **Daniel ô Sullivan More**
                - **Giles ô Sullivan More**
                  - **Dunlaing** *Lord of Munster*
                    - **Morcho ô Sullivan** *the Great An.° 1387* — **Catharine** *M'Carthy More of the Palace*
- **Shesghnuisagh** *Lord of Munster*
  - **Fiachadh** *the Champion*
    - **Flan-Roba** *Lord of Munster*
      - **Duffioureacht** *Lord of Munster*
        - **Marough** *Lord of Munster*
          - **Eachaidh** *Lord of Munster*
            - **Maolurah** *Lord of his Country*
- **Core** *King of Munster*
  - **Nasdfaoch** *Prince of Munster*
    - **Aongus** *Prince of Munster*
      - **Feidlin** *Prince of Munster*
        - **Criomthann** *Prince of Munster*
          - **Hugh** *Prince of Munster*
            - **Florence** *King of Munster*

From Daniel ô Sullivan More to Philip Son of Capt.° John Sullivan is taken from a Pedigree dated 1787 attested by Ger.d Teahan the Bishop of Kerry, Anth.y Herbert Esq.r Just.e of Peace, Peter Trant of Cahir Trant, and several others.

From Benjamin brother to Capt.° John Sullivan, to the bottom of this Pedigree, was compiled 1789 under the Inspection of the Family.

**Morcho ô Sullivan** *the Great An.° 1387* — **Catharine** *M'Carthy More of the Palace*

- **Barnard ô Sullivan** — **Mary** *dau.r of M.r Donough M'Carthy of Duhallow*
  - **Philip ô Sullivan** *second Son.* — **Honora** *ô Connor of Carrigaphoill*
    - **Daniel ô Sullivan** — **Joanna M.c** *Carthy of Cois Maing*
      - **Eugene ô Sullivan** — **Eliz.th Fitz Gerald** *of the Desmond Stem*
        - **Roger ô Sullivan** — **Julian M.c** *Carthy of Drishane Castle*
          - **Daniel ô Sullivan** — **Hellena M.c** *Auliffe of Newmarket*
            - **John o Sullivan** — **Mary ô Keefe** *of Kileen*
              - **Timothy ô Sullivan** — **Johanna ô Callaghan** *of Cuainmeen*
                - **Cornelius ô Sullivan**
                  - **Rev.d Stephen ô Sullivan** *Procur.r Gen.l of the Benedictines at Thoulouse 1789.*
                - **Philip ô Sullivan.** — **Eliz.th Erwin** *of the Cou.y of Roscommon*
                  - **Capt.n John ô Sullivan** *of Cork.* — **Susanna** *dau.r of*
                    - **Philip ô Sullivan** *More living unmarr.d 1789.*
                    - **Benjamin Sullivan** *died 4 Jan.y 1787.* — **Barbara** *dau.r of [illegible] died 1789*
                      - **1 Margaret** *wife of Col.l Gordon Forbes living 1789*
                      - **2 Sophia** *wife of Fred.k Otto Hayer Esq.r died 1784*
                      - **3 Henrietta** *wife of John Balfour Esq.r liv.g 1789*
                      - **4 Ann** *wife of Capt.n John Sidebotham liv.g 1789*
                        - **1 Benjamin Sullivan** *living unmarried 1789*
                        - **2 John Sullivan** *living unmarr.d 1789*
                        - **3 Rich.d Joseph Sullivan** — **Mary** *dau.r of Tho.s Lodge of Leeds in Yorkshire Esq.r*
                        - **4 Henry Sullivan** *died unmarr.d*
                          - **1 Rich.d Sullivan** *born in St. George Hanover Square Apr. 25 1780.*
                          - **2 Henry Sullivan** *born in St. James Westmin.r March 21 1785*
                          - **3 Charles Sullivan** *born in St. George Hanover Square Feb.y 28. 1789*
                          - **1 Maria** *died an Infant*
                          - **2 Charlotte** *born at Thames Ditton in Surry Nov.r 4. 1787*

A Memorandum of the Estates & Property of John ô Sullivan in Duhallow forfeited in the Reign of K. James II.

| Estates | Acres | Owners | Rents |
|---|---|---|---|
| Drominagh | 554 | Geo. Morris Esq.r | £ 327 |
| Mang Dohill | 476 | Lord Freemantle | 236 |
| Corbanna | 500 | D.o | 250 |
| Gurtenvalle | 276 | D.o | 90 |
| Corlolahig | 500 | D.o | 250 |
| Derrenadurrus | 240 | Lord Shannon | 120 |
| Ballydonihan | 856 | D.o | 328 |
| Tyhalon | 610 | Lord Lisle | 250 |
| Knockanagh | 610 | D.o | 250 |
| Castlehanse | 198 | D.o | 66 |
| Killagowley | 180 | D.o | 60 |
| Garrenglyne | 160 | D.o | 54 |
| Reanaclyal | 141 | D.o | 47 |
| Knockduvig | 246 | D.o | 82 |
| [illegible] | 132 | Earl of Orrery | 44 |
| Glantleenan | 135 | D.o | 45 |
| Carr.d over | 4057 | | £ 2499 |

| Estates | Acres | Prot.t Owners | Rents |
|---|---|---|---|
| Brou.t over | 4057 | | £ 2499 |
| Clountinnanidie | 240 | Earl of Orrery | 80 |
| Crovenrea | 240 | D.o | 80 |
| Kilkerne | 191 | D.o | 64 |
| Capafeidine | 180 | D.o | 60 |
| Knockavorine | 120 | D.o | 40 |
| Knockirourke | 200 | D.o | 60 |
| Knockinoacurrie | 200 | D.o | 70 |
| Knockinagalane | 240 | D.o | 80 |
| Knockpeacurrie | 160 | D.o | 56 |
| Knocklaugh | 180 | D.o | 60 |
| Tavar | 160 | Earl Bearhaven | 60 |
| | 7643 | | £ 3189 |

Ger.d Teahan B.p of Corke & Ross
Dan.l ô Connell Esq.r of Elmount
Mary ô Connell Esqr. of Elmount
Pat.k Roche of Drumagh

At Drominagh are the Ruins of an old Castle which was the ô Sullivans Mansion Place, and is since called ô Sullivan's Castle.

The above Estates were only a small Part of the Original Family Possessions several of greater Value & Extent having been lost under King Henry II. Queen Eliz.th & Oliver Cromwell.

Translation of the Motto, What we gain by Conquest, we secure by Clemency.

Daniel O'Sullivan married Johanna M'Carthy, of the noble Houſe of the Lords of Cois Maing, and had iſſue Eugene O'Sullivan.

Eugene O'Sullivan was married to Elizabeth Fitzgerald, of the illuſtrious family of the Fitzgeralds, who were Earls of Deſmond, and had iſſue Roger O'Sullivan.

Roger O'Sullivan was married to Julian M'Carthy, of the noble Houſe of Driſhhane Caſtle, and had iſſue Daniel O'Sullivan.

Daniel O'Sullivan was married to Hellena M'Auliffe, of the illuſtrious Houſe of M'Auliffes, rulers and poſſeſſors of Newmarket and the manor thereunto appertaining, and had iſſue John O'Sullivan.

John O'Sullivan was married to Mary O'Keeffe, of the renowned Houſe of O'Keeffe of Killeen, and had iſſue Timothy O'Sullivan.

Timothy O'Sullivan was married to Joanna O'Callahan, of the noble Houſe of O'Callahan of Cluainmeen, and poſſeſſed a great property in Duhallow, until it was by change of Government forfeited, and had iſſue Philip O'Sullivan and Cornelius O'Sullivan.

Philip O'Sullivan was married to Elizabeth Ervin, of the family of the Ervins in the County of Roſcommon, and had iſſue John O'Sullivan and Benjamin O'Sullivan. Cornelius left iſſue, Dominus Stephen O'Sullivan, Attorney General, of the Order of St. Benedict at Thoulouſe in France; and with whom of courſe, from the celibacy enjoined by his order, that branch becomes extinct.

John O'Sullivan was married to Suſanna O'Sullivan, of the City of Cork, and had iſſue Philip, at preſent Captain in the Eaſt India Company's ſervice. Benjamin O'Sullivan was married to Bridget Limerick, of the very ancient family of the Limericks of the county of Rutland, but whoſe founder was ſecond brother of Robert Duke of Habſprough in Germany, who came into England with William the Conqueror. The iſſue of Benjamin O'Sullivan now living, or from whom Children remain, are, Margaret, Benjamin, John, Richard, Sophia, Henrietta, and Ann.

Philip O'Sullivan, of courſe, being the repreſentative of the elder branch, is now the O'Sullivan More.

In the aſcertainment of this latter part of the deſcent of the family of O'Sullivan More, recourſe has been had to the Antiquaries, to the Engliſh Reſidents, and to the Clergy upon the ſpot in Ireland, who are the only authorities of veracity that can be conſulted on Mileſian Genealogies. Their atteſtation to the original pedigree, whence this is taken, is as follows:

We the under-mentioned believe this Genealogy to be genuine.

*Peter Trant* of Cahir Trant. } *James O'Mahony* of Bell point. } *Richard Towſend Herbert* of Cahirnane, Knight of the Shire for the County of Kerry.

*Daniel O'Connell* of Tarmon. } *Daniel O'Mahony* of Dunloe. } *O'Donoghue* of Glin.

*Art. Herbert* of Killarney,
a Juſtice of the Peace.

L. S. *Gerard Teban*, titular Biſhop of Kerry.

Having in this manner brought the line of the O'Sullivans from the *Second Son* of Bernard, Son of Murtough the Great (the branch of the eldeſt Son being extinct) to the preſent Philip O'Sullivan, or O'Sullivan More; and having taken notice of the long ſtruggles and conſequent forfeitures of the elder branch of this family; we ſhall conclude by obſerving here, that the laſt remnant of the poſſeſſions of O'Sullivan More, and which was wreſted from the great great grandfather of the preſent O'Sullivan More, was in particulars as follows:

Memorandum

Memorandum of the eſtates and property of John O'Sullivan in Duhallow, forfeited in the reign of James II.

| Eſtates. | Acres. | Preſent owners. | Rents. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Drominagh | 654 | George Morris, Eſq. | £. 327 |
| Iſland Dohill | 472 | Edward Dane Freeman, Eſq. | 236 |
| Clonbanin | 500 | ditto | 250 |
| Glaunacule | 270 | ditto | 90 |
| Coolclunur | 500 | —— | 250 |
| Dirrinituburut | 240 | Lord Shannon | 120 |
| Ballihoulihan | 656 | ditto | 328 |
| Liſrabin | 510 | Lord Liſle | 250 |
| Knocknanaugh | 510 | ditto | 250 |
| Glaſſakanine | 198 | ditto | 66 |
| Foilagouhig | 180 | ditto | 60 |
| Tourinefinine | 160 | ditto | 54 |
| Reanagaſhal | 141 | ditto | 47 |
| Knockacularig | 346 | ditto | 82 |
| Cloughboullia | 132 | Earl of Orrery | 44 |
| Glaunlahan | 135 | ditto | 45 |
| Glaunlaneaninane | 240 | ditto | 60 |
| Kiſkame | 121 | ditto | 41 |
| Croenrea | 240 | ditto | 80 |
| Capafadine | 180 | ditto | 67 |
| Knockavorine | 120 | ditto | 44 |
| Knockirourke | 200 | ditto | 60 |
| Knockineacunig | 200 | ditto | 70 |
| Knockineagulane | 240 | ditto | 80 |
| Knockineacurrie | 160 | ditto | 56 |
| Knocklaugh | 180 | ditto | 80 |
| Tavur | 160 | Henry Rixon, Eſq. | 60 |
| Total | 7645 | | £. 3197 |

This account certified the 17th and 23d of October 1787 under the hands of

Cornelius O'Collaghan, Daniel O'Keeffe,
Martin O'Connor, Paſtor of Kilmeen, Patrick Roche of Dromtariff.

Gerard Teahan, B. K.

In addition to the above, it appears, that in the year 1721, twenty-one thouſand acres of the principality of Dunkerron, which was O'Sullivan More's country, were re-granted to Henry Earl of Shelburne, the ſecond ſon of Sir William Petty. This Nobleman dying in 1752, he bequeathed his eſtate to his nephew John Fitzmaurice, who aſſumed the name of Petty, and was advanced to the dignities of Baron Dunkerron and Viſcount Fitzmaurice; afterwards Earl of Shelburne; and lately Marquis of Lanſdown.

We ſhall now conclude our ſubject. Dr. Barnard remarks, "We "do not reject the teſtimony of the Roman Hiſtorians, for the expul-"ſion of the Tarquins, and the eſtabliſhment of the Roman Common-"wealth;" ſhould we on leſs diſputable grounds reject the teſtimony of the Iriſh Hiſtorians, becauſe their Princes were expelled by the Engliſh, or becauſe the Monarchs of England eſtabliſhed a ſovereign Supremacy over the Territories of Ireland? But the World is upheld by Revolutions; and the pages of all Hiſtory are little more than the chronicles of degradation on the one ſide, and of exaltation on the other.

THE END.

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